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## The Carnyx on Celtic and Roman Republican Coinage

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### Abstract

*This paper explores the cross-cultural portrayals of an unusual and striking musical instrument, the carnyx, on the coinages of the Romans and the inhabitants of Iron Age Britain and Gaul. Appearing as a snarling boar, the carnyx was a war horn used by the Gauls and Britons, which not only captivated the minds of their artists, but also those of the Romans. This paper studies the cross-cultural phenomenon of its appearance in the coin iconography of the late 2<sup>nd</sup> to late 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC. This simultaneous analysis of Roman, Gallic and British coinage reveals that while each culture had a shared belief in the carnyx's military role, each culture also had its own interpretation on the object's significance. To the Romans, it was a symbol of the barbarian, to be cherished as a war trophy after a Roman victory, but to those northern Europeans, it was a sign of pride and spiritual significance. An image's meaning is therefore seen to transform as it crosses into a new cultural context.*

One of the most iconic and unique objects of *La Tène* material culture of north-west Europe was the carnyx. Evoking ferocity and spirituality, the carnyx was a war horn, with specimens from Britain, Gaul, and the Balkans, with records for its use dating from c.300 BC – c.AD 300.<sup>1</sup> The carnyx is displayed as a long- or short-tubed trumpet, likely inspired by the Etruscan *lituus* as part of the broader incorporation of Mediterranean imagery and material culture that occurred as a result of Gallic mercenary service in Italy.<sup>2</sup> The *lituus* image proved popular also in Rome, becoming the symbol of one of the priestly offices, and its shape would influence other forms of material culture found in Iron Age Western Europe, such as the Braganzo brooch, the Gundestrup Cauldron and some Armorican (modern-day Brittany) coins.<sup>3</sup> However, the carnyx diverges from *lituus* in that in almost all examples, and in most of its representations, the carnyx takes the form of a growling boar, with its bristles raised in anger.<sup>4</sup> The style of this instrument is unique to these people in ancient antiquity; there are no known similar objects before the whistling Draco standard of the later Roman Empire.<sup>5</sup>

Unsurprisingly, this bellowing creature had an imposing presence on the battlefield. Polybius was among the ancient classical historians who described the impact of the carnyx, whilst chronicling the Battle of Telamon between the Romans and invading Gauls in 225 BC:

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The following abbreviations are used:

<sup>1</sup> Hunter 2001, 95. The Balkans carnyxes could represent local examples, or material left by the Gallic migrations passing through that area in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC (Rankin 1987, 188). A possible image may appear in India (Foghlú 2014), but this is based only on stylistic similarities and should be treated with caution.

<sup>2</sup> Hooker 2017

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* Hunter 2001, 95, Hooker 2002, 64

<sup>4</sup> The only exception is one of seven carnyx finds, found at a Gallo-Roman sanctuary site at Tintignac. This carnyx is in the form of a snake, unlike the other six from the site, which take the characteristic boar shape. One of the Tintignac carnyxes has recently been reconstructed ('The Carnyx from Tintignac' The European Music Archaeology Project).

<sup>5</sup> Coulston 1991

“For there were among them such innumerable horns and trumpets, which were being blown at the same time from all parts of their army, and their cries were so loud and piercing, that the noise seemed to come not from human voices and trumpets, but from the whole countryside at once.” (Polybius, *Histories*, 2.29)<sup>6</sup>

The influence of the carnyx not only impressed ancient listeners, but modern ones, as can be witnessed through the recent reconstructions produced by Fraser Hunter.<sup>7</sup> However, it is the ancient viewpoint that this article focuses on. The role played by the carnyx in the Iron Age can be perceived not only amongst the inhabitants of Iron Age Britain and Gaul, but also amongst the Romans. This article considers the attitudes of these separate cultural groups, by examining a medium for representations of the carnyx that they shared: coinage.

Previous studies of the carnyx have almost solely focused on a single culture’s point of view.<sup>8</sup> Despite being contemporary, Romans and the north-west Europeans form the focus of different disciplines, often in different scholarly departments. This separation has limited cross-cultural studies of the material. This is particularly troubling when one considers material culture encountered by both peoples. An object’s meaning changes as it travels, taking on different connotations when it enters a new cultural climate.<sup>9</sup> Examining a single culture’s view of an object thus limits modern understanding of how an object was perceived through its life course. This contribution builds upon scholarship seeking to overcome these divisions by analysing Roman and north-western European viewpoints of the carnyx simultaneously through coinage for the first time.<sup>10</sup>

Despite social and political divisions, the north-west Europeans had a distinctive cultural background to the Romans. Both societies had Hellenistic influences, but they were structured differently. The Romans were an urbanised society of the Mediterranean, with an identity focused around a single city, and with a view of the barbarian influenced by their own interactions with aggressive northern tribes.<sup>11</sup> The north-west Europeans were a group of separate political entities, which on occasion came together to form larger groups, with different customs, but with broadly similar cultural and artistic styles.<sup>12</sup> We are fortunate that the north-west Europeans and the Romans both chose to present the carnyx on coinage, and that these representations are contemporary, with coins from these cultures displaying the carnyx being produced from the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC to the late 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.

It is perhaps unsurprising that these different cultures should choose to use coinage as a medium of expression, since the medium is designed to connect and transcend cultural systems. Moreover, due to their large quantity, the number of individuals viewing the image on a coin would be far greater than for a single statue or relief. Although scholars have previously regarded the design on Roman coins as having all the fascination of a modern-day postage stamp, it has been argued that since a coin was involved in multiple transactions, the coin’s image would have been regularly seen, influencing an individual on a subconscious level, even though the imagery itself may not have been actively studied.<sup>13</sup> Iron Age Gallic and British coin imagery may have been the centre of greater attention, as in addition to or instead of a monetary usage, the coinage may have served a role in gift-giving; a practice that

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<sup>6</sup> Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca*, 5.30, Polybius, *Histories*, 2.29

<sup>7</sup> Hunter 2001, 95

<sup>8</sup> Hunter, 2001 and 2009

<sup>9</sup> Mitchell 2005

<sup>10</sup> Creighton 2000, Russell 2010, Rowan and Swan 2016

<sup>11</sup> Cunliffe 1988, Ellis 1998, Sills 2003, 97, Hooker 2017.

<sup>12</sup> Caesar, *The Gallic Wars*, 2.1, 2.4, 3.7, Strabo, *Geography*, 4.2.3, Hunter, Goldberg, Farley and Leins, 31–35

<sup>13</sup> Jones 1956, 16, Mwangi 2002, 32

would lead to the gifts, and their images, being examined, by the recipients.<sup>14</sup> In the Ancient world, coinage served as an important medium of imagery, and a way of expressing cultural and personal attitudes.

### Roman Representations of the Carnyx

The Roman attitude towards choosing coin imagery differed to that of the Gauls and Britons. Roman coins served a primarily monetary role, for the exchange of goods and services, as well as government payments.<sup>15</sup> But Roman coinage also gradually acquired a political and cultural role as well. Coinage in the Republic was the responsibility of Roman elites, who held the political office of moneyer.<sup>16</sup> The coins' designs were often used to advertise the official himself, and his family, perhaps in preparation for his future political career, as well as highlighting the prowess of Rome.<sup>17</sup> Historical, and occasionally contemporary, events were as a result often referred to in coin iconography.<sup>18</sup> Coins essentially acted as little monuments (*monumenta*), commemorating an event to maintain it in public memory, similar to an inscription on a large monumental building.<sup>19</sup> This conceptualisation of coinage had a significant role in how the carnyx was represented.

Remarkably, the Romans were the first to represent the carnyx on coinage in 206-200 BC, before communities that actually used the object.<sup>20</sup> This is unsurprising given that communities in Gaul tended to be conservative with the images on their coins. Most coinage in Gaul was originally inspired by Philip II of Macedon's coinage, which had Apollo's laureate head on the obverse and a charioteer in a two-horse chariot (*biga*) on the reverse. This design was imitated in Gaul throughout the 3<sup>rd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC.<sup>21</sup> It was not until the late 2<sup>nd</sup> to early 1<sup>st</sup> century BC that a significant number of different images began to appear. Likewise, British communities only began producing coins a little before the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, and a large variety of types only appeared after 50BC. The first appearance of the carnyx on a coin thus likely results from the cultural circumstances of the Roman, Gallic and British coin production, rather than a particular Roman association with the carnyx.

Warfare was the primary context of the carnyx, and this is witnessed in Roman depictions.<sup>22</sup> The Romans used the carnyx as a sign of Roman military triumph. Coins depicting the carnyx amongst a military trophy (Figure 1) can be dated to c. 120, 119, 98, 97, 51 and 45 BC.<sup>23</sup> These images follow the Roman cultural model of presenting past and present events on their coinage, notably Marius' defeat of the Cimbri in the early 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and Caesar's Gallic wars in the late 50s BC.<sup>24</sup> The trope of a military trophy, with captured weapons and arms, and possibly captives, with occasionally the winged goddess Victory added, was a common representation of a military victory in the Roman world.<sup>25</sup> These victories against such a formidable enemy continued to be used after the event for the purpose of enhancing prestige. Caesar's coinage in 44 BC, for example, continues to present the carnyx as part of trophies.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Sills 2003, 340, Hooker 2006

<sup>15</sup> Duncan-Jones 1994, 20

<sup>16</sup> Crawford 1974, 728

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>18</sup> Meadows and Williams 2001, 48

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>20</sup> RRC 128/1, Hunter 2001, 92, Table 2.

<sup>21</sup> Creighton 2000, 27

<sup>22</sup> Hunter 2009, 245

<sup>23</sup> RRC 281/1, 326/2, 332/1 a-c, 333/1, 437/2 a-b, 437/3 a-b, 437/4 a-b, 468/1, 468/2

<sup>24</sup> Caesar, *The Gallic Wars*, Plutarch, *Lives*, Life of Marius 11-27

<sup>25</sup> Koortbojian 2006, 184

<sup>26</sup> RRC 468

This was well after the Gallic war, but it created a continual reminder of Caesar's achievements as he attempted to increase his power in Rome. The use of the carnyx to enhance the prestige of the Roman general was clearly successful, as similar scenes depicting the carnyx in trophies can be seen in later Roman art, like Trajan's column in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>27</sup>

[INSERT fig 1a HERE] [INSERT fig 1b HERE]

The carnyx in these scenes was more than just a background motif. Without knowledge of contemporary events, a viewer would be unaware of the specific context of these images, particularly if the coin continued to circulate long after the event.<sup>28</sup> Through incorporating a unique object such as the carnyx, the generic image is given a new, distinct meaning. This instrument was only used by northern European communities, so its presentation in a pile of non-descript weapons marks the opponents as northern European invaders, i.e. the Cimbri or the Gauls. The carnyx's specific associations thus added much-needed context to a formulaic scene.

The Roman *colonia* (colony) of Transalpine Gaul, Narbo Martius, used a similar strategy, but for a different purpose. Coins were struck for the colony in 118 BC, a year after the *colonia*'s founding.<sup>29</sup> These coins (Figure 2) display a chariot, drawing upon the formulaic image of Jupiter's chariot frequently found on Roman coins at this time, but exchanges the king of the gods for a naked Gaul, armed with shield, spear and carnyx. While nudity and chariots were aspects of Gallic warfare, both tropes can be found in Roman artistic forms as well, with triumphal chariots and naked divine forms found on Roman material culture.<sup>30</sup> This playful mixing of 'Gallic' and 'Roman' can be found in other aspects of the coin scene: the shield, for example, looks distinctly classical, being round like a Greek *hoplon* shield, rather than the oblong and square shields which the Gauls and Britons tended to use.<sup>31</sup> The figure is not even moustached, a common classical trope for identifying Gauls both in ancient literature and Hellenistic art.<sup>32</sup> The carnyx is the sole identifier of the warrior as a Gaul.

The appearance of a Gaul on this coin issue has been connected to the victory of Domitius Ahenobarbus against the Gauls, an achievement commemorated in 119 BC.<sup>33</sup> But this representation differs significantly from other Roman coin images commemorating victories over the northern barbarians: the images related to the Cimbri invasion and the Gallic wars display a trophy scene with a defeated opponent, whereas the Narbo Martius chariot scene depicts a heroic Gaul free from captivity.<sup>34</sup> The location of Narbo Martius within Gaul indicates a different context for this image. Later *coloniae* that produced coinage incorporated local imagery into their designs, such as can be seen by the use of the Pegasus on Corinth's *colonia* coinage, when it was re-founded under Caesar.<sup>35</sup> In this way the *colonia* coins, similar to more modern colonial currencies, transformed local customs and imagery that surrounded the new settlers into something 'Roman', through placing local imagery on a Roman coin denomination. These coins in turn contributed to the creation of an identity for

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<sup>27</sup> Lepper 1988, 274, scene lxxviii

<sup>28</sup> As can be seen in coin hoards, e.g. Amnas, Ancona (Coin Hoards of the Roman Republic Online)

<sup>29</sup> RRC 282/1–5

<sup>30</sup> Polybius, *Histories*: 2.28, example RRC 29/3.

<sup>31</sup> O'Conner, Foster and Saunders 2000, 239–241

<sup>32</sup> Julius Caesar, *The Gallic Wars*, 5.14, Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica*, 5.28, Ellis 1997, 136, Mitchell 2003, 286

<sup>33</sup> Allen 2007, 161

<sup>34</sup> RRC 326/2, 332/1 a–c, 333/1, 437/2 a–b, 437/3 a–b, 437/4 a–b

<sup>35</sup> Rowan 2014: 149

the new settlement. The Narbo coins show a distinctly warlike scene, but this has little to do with Narbo Martius' apparent character, which is that of a major commercial hub, home to merchants rather than soldiers.<sup>36</sup> Rather the Gallic warrior was the image of Gaul favoured by the Romans; how the Romans saw these peoples. It was thus this particular image, which also fitted well with Rome's own material culture, that was appropriated for use on the *colonia's* coinage, and not another.

[INSERT fig 2a HERE] [INSERT fig 2b HERE]

At times, the representation of military trophies with carnyces on coinage is accompanied by an image of Victory (Figure 1). One such representation (Figure 3) is unusual in that it shows the carnyx beneath Victory in a biga.<sup>37</sup> This is similar to the first coin depicting the carnyx, produced during the second Punic war, which placed the motif beneath the discouri.<sup>38</sup> The earliest coin could be related to the use of Gallic mercenaries by Hannibal in second Punic war, but its similar position to the later coin suggests a different cause.<sup>39</sup> Indeed, the coin presenting the carnyx beneath Victory was produced in 91 BC, when there is no recorded conflict against the northern barbarians, so it is difficult to attribute the scene to a contemporary military victory. This 91 BC coin is part of a series of other coins that show Victory in a biga, but without the carnyx below.<sup>40</sup> It seems likely that it is acting as a control mark, as a variety of symbols were often used for this purpose in Republican coinage.<sup>41</sup> The unusual shape of the horn and its novelty was distinctive, making it ideal as a distinguishing mark for this purpose.

[INSERT fig 3a HERE] [INSERT fig 3b HERE]

Numismatic representations of the carnyx in the late 1<sup>st</sup> century BC are impacted by the more varied iconographic styles of the period, and the increased authority of particular individuals. The 48 BC denarius of Brutus Albinus (Figure 4) displays two crossed carnyces on its reverse.<sup>42</sup> Once again, the carnyces are used as a symbol of 'otherness' to refer to the Gauls, but unlike previous examples, they are presented prominently, with no Roman images, such as the chariot or Victory, present. This becomes more apparent when one notices the wheel (associated with the Gallic chariot, as well as an important part of Gallic religious iconography) and the oblong Gallic shield present between the carnyces.<sup>43</sup> This scene is best viewed within the context of the coinage of 48 BC, in which other prominently Gallic images were utilised at the Roman mint, including one type displaying an unprecedented male Gallic head on the obverse.<sup>44</sup> In this year, another Republican coin type was struck depicting the carnyx next to a female head, and this too can be seen within the context of the broader Gallic emphasis of Roman coinage in this year.<sup>45</sup> The imagery of these coins seem to be designed to work together to return the Gauls to public memory, most likely to ensure Caesar's victory in Gaul remained in public discourse.<sup>46</sup> This association between the objects of a non-Roman

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<sup>36</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, 4.1.43

<sup>37</sup> RRC 337/1a

<sup>38</sup> RRC 128/1

<sup>39</sup> Polybius, *Histories*, 3.65, 3.67, 3.106

<sup>40</sup> RRC 337/1–5

<sup>41</sup> Crawford 1966, 18–23

<sup>42</sup> RRC 450/1 a–b

<sup>43</sup> Green 1986, 40

<sup>44</sup> RRC 448/2b

<sup>45</sup> RRC 448/3

<sup>46</sup> Sear 1998, 13

culture and Caesar was a herald to the approach of a single ruler of the Romans: a single great conquest allowed the appropriation of all images of the conquered people to a single conqueror. Nevertheless, despite the unusual nature of the type, the same Roman method of using the carnyx as a symbol of defeated enemies is utilised.

[INSERT fig 4a HERE] [INSERT fig 4b HERE]

### Representations of the Carnyx in Iron Age Gaul and Britain

It remains unclear how British and Gallic communities used coinage. Gold, silver and bronze denominations are found in both Britain and Gaul, utilising similar metals to the Romans, but some areas favoured one metal over another, and it is unclear how they functioned together. As mentioned above, there have been suggestions that British and Gallic gold coins potentially served a gift-giving or votive role rather than being used in a monetary economy.<sup>47</sup> The later silver and bronze coinage of these peoples are often found in settlement sites, that suggests the possibility of a developing market economy, and thus silver and bronze coins possibly had monetary usage in at least in some areas of the Gaul and Britain.<sup>48</sup> It is difficult to gauge who specifically the users of these coins were, although one would imagine that the elites would have been the owners of a significant number of them.

There is little to no evidence of a Gallic or British desire to commemorate events on their coinage, although some scholars have put forward such conclusions.<sup>49</sup> The Iron Age Gauls and Britons produced no literature (although legends on coins were coming into existence), preventing any knowledge of their political history that would justify assigning particular events to particular coin imagery. Unlike the Romans, Gallic and British presentations of the carnyx bear no traceable reference to historical events. This does not rule out a political purpose for the images, but it is difficult to know the political situation these images would be attempting to influence or commemorate.<sup>50</sup>

In Roman images the carnyx's user was presented as a generic barbarian, but in the Gallic and British Iron Age the horn gave the player with supernatural connotations. Carnyces deposited at Deskford, Scotland, Tuttershall Farm, England, Kappel, Switzerland, Mandeure, France and Săluștan, Romania, had been ritually dismantled before burial, suggesting a common pan-European attitude to the ritual involved in a carnyx's deposition.<sup>51</sup> The breaking of objects such as swords, tools and statues in sacred springs, temple sites and other religious contexts has been identified as a Gallic and British religious phenomenon, but in reality the practice can be witnessed in other societies.<sup>52</sup> Among the Pueblo native Americans for example, rituals drums were broken prior to deposition, owing to the fact that they were believed to have contained a spirit.<sup>53</sup> Breaking these spirit holders seems to have been a method of releasing the spirit, and the same reason may be behind the carnyc's dismantling. The few forms of Gallic and British art in which the carnyx is represented often show it within scenes with religious connotations, such as in the Gundestrup cauldron, where the carnyx players stand behind a parade of spear-armed soldiers approaching a vat, in which one

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<sup>47</sup> Fitzpatrick 1992, 16, Sills 2003, 340

<sup>48</sup> Holman 2005, 37

<sup>49</sup> Nash 1987, 133, Woods 2014, 2-3

<sup>50</sup> Kings and merchants have been suggested. Nash 1987, 101, J. Talbot, *pers comm*. Talbot's thesis is currently unpublished, but is nearing completion at the time of the writing of this article.

<sup>51</sup> Hunter 2001, 84, 87

<sup>52</sup> Green 1986, 206

<sup>53</sup> Vanpool 2009, 183, Vanpool 2012, 256

of them is being dunked.<sup>54</sup> Additionally, a Gallic statue from Pauvreley in central France carries a carnyx, and is depicted with six fingers on one of his hands.<sup>55</sup> It has been suggested that this represented a real-life player with an abnormality.<sup>56</sup> However, the over-emphasis of natural features could be an indicator of a supernatural element, perhaps indicating this musician was a god or a supernaturally gifted mortal.

The divine's association with the carnyx can be witnessed on British coins. The coinage of the British king Dubnovellaunus, reigning in Kent and perhaps Essex towards the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, shows one such example (Figure 5).<sup>57</sup> The reverse appears to depict a naked woman riding a horse, whilst holding a carnyx. Female figures, aside from Victory, are rarely represented on British coins, and when they do appear they seem to be representing goddesses, such as Ariadne or Demeter.<sup>58</sup> This coin likely follows this pattern, which would mean a divine figure is associated with the carnyx. The figure's identity is unknown, but she has been associated with the naked female horse rider present on Armorican (modern-day Brittany) coins, produced possibly a century earlier.<sup>59</sup> The Armorican rider is armed, promoting warlike connotations, similar to Dubnovellaunus' coin with the warhorn. Additionally, female deities are often associated with the earth in many cultures, and the former part of Dubnovellaunus' name, "Dubno", has a meaning possibly related to the underworld.<sup>60</sup> The deity may therefore be a canting image, representing the name of the coin's authority, similar to the dogs that appear on a number of coins of Cunobelin, a later king ruling a territory roughly akin to Dubnovellaunus, as the former part of his name, "Cuno", means hound.<sup>61</sup> While a certain identification of the figure remains impossible, a divine association is likely.

[INSERT fig 5 HERE]

Gallic and British coinage differs from Roman coins in that women, albeit divine women, are presented as holding the carnyx. Similarly, a post-Caesarean conquest example of the Loire region of France shows Victory carrying a curved object that has been identified as a carnyx.<sup>62</sup> This is the only example of any coin, Gallic, British or Roman, that depicts Victory handling the instrument. The association between the carnyx and war may be the reason for their association. It is possible that Victory was a symbol of general success and prestige among the Gauls and Britons, so the coin may point to the high status and, owing to her role as a deity, possibly supernatural nature of the carnyx player.<sup>63</sup> In an inverse manner to the Narbo Martius coin, this post-conquest coin represents a Gallic appropriation of Roman imagery. Rather than the carnyx being the sign of a foreign other, it instead provides a Gallic point of reference to a foreign deity, allowing Gauls to identify the figure as a war goddess due to her association with a Gallic instrument of war.

In a similar manner to the Roman images, most Gallic and British representations of the carnyx have warlike connotations. In Britain, the most common depictions of the carnyx on coins have the instrument carried by a cavalryman (Figure 6), often armoured in chainmail,

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<sup>54</sup> Hunter, Goldberg, Farley and Leins 2015, 268 (inner plate). Cauldrons in Irish myth are often associated with the gods, such as the "Dagda", who possessed a cauldron of rejuvenation (Green 1986, 139)

<sup>55</sup> Aldhouse-Green 2004, 180

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>57</sup> ABC 348

<sup>58</sup> ABC 2864, 2879

<sup>59</sup> LT XXII 6756, Aldhouse-Green 2004, 162, de Jersey 1994, 54

<sup>60</sup> Neumann 1954, 42, Delamarre 2001, 151

<sup>61</sup> ABC 2879, ABC 2846, ABC 2852, ABC 2891, ABC 2894, ABC 2951, Aldhouse-Green 1992, 186

<sup>62</sup> LT XX 6398, Hunter 2001, 240

<sup>63</sup> Rowan and Swan 2016, 78



and in Gaul, various representations featured the carnyx being carried by a charioteer and a foot soldier holding a human head.<sup>64</sup> All represented the elite of the British and Gallic world. Chainmail was only available to the wealthiest of warriors, and the same was true of horses and chariots.<sup>65</sup> Indeed, there seems to have been some special status given to horsemen and charioteers, as according to Caesar, during his first invasion of Britain, it was the cavalry and charioteers of the British who engaged his forces first.<sup>66</sup> As the first to enter battle, they would be the first to gain glory, so the cavalry and charioteer element of the British and Gallic army would be the most prestigious. The carrying of a human head on the Gallic coin may relate to the Gallic practice of head hunting, in which acquiring the head of an enemy gave a warrior respect.<sup>67</sup> The images associated with the carnyx relate to the Gallic and British military elite, in contrast to the Roman depictions of a defeated opponent. This in turn may be designed to represent the prestige of the authority behind the coin's manufacture.

[INSERT fig 6 HERE]

## Conclusion

Despite both incorporating the carnyx into their coin imagery, north-western Europeans and Roman artists had their own conception of what the instrument represented. To the Romans, it was the war horn of the barbarians of northern Europe, and the appropriation of its image on Roman coins marks the superiority and power of Rome. For the Gallic and British communities, the carnyx was given additional relevance beyond war. It had supernatural associations, perhaps itself being a spiritual object, in addition to the user at times being notably connected to the divine. Despite these different conceptions, the same context of the carnyx's use was expressed: war. Both sides accepted the carnyx's role as a war horn, the musician being either a defeated enemy or a proud warrior of their own culture. While some ideas translate well across a geographical and cultural divide, others become altered to suit a society's own narrative. At times, certain images appear to bridge the divide, such as the Narbo Martius coin incorporating Gallic imagery, but the same cultural stereotypes are manifested on the coin to suit the producing culture's need.

This study has considered the reaction of both societies' presentation of the carnyx separately. Despite some of the later Gallic coins featuring the carnyx being produced at a time when Roman coinage was entering Gaul in large numbers after the conquest, the imagery chosen by one culture rarely imitates the imagery of the other. There is therefore a justification in believing each society viewed the carnyx considerably differently, to the extent that they were uninfluenced by the instrument's "foreign" representations.<sup>68</sup> This would suggest there would have been a considerable impact when one of these images crossed over these cultural lines. As of the time of publication, the Portable Antiquities Scheme contains twenty-seven examples of Roman coins depicting the carnyx in Britain.<sup>69</sup> Despite their manufacture predating the Claudian invasion, it is highly likely that most, if not all, of the Roman coins in Britain arrived after the invasion.<sup>70</sup> Nevertheless, for many of the British provincial inhabitants who might have seen these images, one can only imagine how

<sup>64</sup> ABC 354, 387, 399, 2562, 2565, 2568, 2571, 2676, LT XV 5044, XX 6930

<sup>65</sup> Hunter 2005, 53

<sup>66</sup> Julius Caesar, *The Gallic Wars*, 4.24

<sup>67</sup> Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica*, 5.2

<sup>68</sup> Imitation of Roman and other Mediterranean designs did occur in other examples of Gallic and British coinage. See Creighton 2000.

<sup>69</sup> The Portable Antiquities Scheme. Breakdown by types: 6 RRC 281/1, 6 RRC 282/4, 1 RRC 437/2a, 3 RRC 448/3, 3 RRC 452/2, 7 RRC 468/1, 1 RRC 468/2.

<sup>70</sup> Walton 2012, 75

they might have perceived these unusual depictions of one of their prized objects, particularly since many of the indigenous coins displaying the carnyx were likely in circulation just prior to the invasion. The representations of the carnyx suited each culture's own tastes, so examining these differing representations would have shaken or re-conditioned the concepts previously explored in their own images.

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#### Abbreviations

ABC: C. Rudd, *Ancient British Coins*, Page Bros Ltd, Norwich, 2010

LT: H. Tour, *Catalogue des Monnaies Gauloises de la Bibliothèque nationale*, Ministry of the interior Publication, Paris, 1892

RRC: M Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1974

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